423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead
[428 425] has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Ŝibŝa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibŝa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibŝa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[192]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ãnde -ẽnde -õnde		-ũak	-ũah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulis	-kõ̆, -kȭ -tsa	-zok -so	-liisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-ire	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kãr	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-ẽere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kənĩnde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-di'o -ri'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ũuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-tĕn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kãs	-tška	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Śibśa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) uśi ʔaniena taĵkedniena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahẽndesu	ahẽndesu	delẽnde	pãte
Black	śundne	atuũdisu	uãre, dẽdẽne	tapũte

continued

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu,* which includes his *Kabishi, Tagnani, Tauitê, Tarutê,* and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzũ, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nukizê
Mouth	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hêndê	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zé. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gé. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

/are common.

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r)

197 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves
193 special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

194 relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue
193 particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

124 Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Fa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

194 If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambi-
197 cuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.